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ACQUISITION IN VARIATION (AND VICE VERSA):
V-TO-T IN FAROESE CHILDREN

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Abstract

Faroese is at the tail-end of a change from an Icelandic-type syntax in which V-to-T is obligatory to a Danish-type system in which this movement is impossible. While the older word order is very rarely produced by adult Faroese speakers, there is evidence that this order is still marginally present in the adult grammar and thus only dispreferred, rather than completely ungrammatical. Here the results are presented of an experimental study of older Faroese children: 5-year old children both accept and produce the older word order, 6 year olds do so significantly less, and 10 year olds behave like adult speakers. We discuss a number of possible interpretations of the children's variability in the context of residual effects of diachronic change in Faroese.

1 Faroese: the syntax of verb movement in transition

Faroese is a Scandinavian language spoken as a first language by the approximately 49,000 inhabitants of the Faroe Islands, a partly autonomous dependency of Denmark, and by several thousand Faroese living outside the islands, mainly in Denmark. All of the Scandinavian languages are SVO and exhibit verb-second (V2) word order in main clauses, and Faroese is not an exception. One point on which the syntax of these languages does differ, however, is that Icelandic exhibits the phenomenon sometimes known as “V-to-I” or “V-to-T” in subordinate clauses, while in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (at least, in the standard varieties) even the finite verb remains in a low position, as diagnosed by its order with respect to negation or to sentence-medial adverbs. Thus while a simple main clause in Icelandic shows the same word order as the corresponding example in Danish (1a–b), in a subordinate clause in Icelandic the finite verb appears above negation while in Danish it appears below it (2a–b).¹

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|
| 1. a. | Elin (hefur) ekki (*hefur) lesið bréfið.
Elin has NEG has read letter.DEF
Elin has not read the letter. | Icelandic |
| b. | Tove (har) ikke (*har) læst brevet
Tove has NEG has read letter.DEF
Tove has not read the letter. | Danish |
| 2. a. | Þetta er bréfið sem Elin (hefur) ekki (*hefur) lesið.
that is letter.DEF that Elin has NEG has read
That is the letter that Elin has not read. | Icelandic |
| b. | Dette er brevet, som Tove (*har) ikke (har) læst.
that is letter.DEF that Tove has NEG has read
That is the letter that Tover has not read | Danish |

An (over)simple analysis of the pattern in (1–2) is that while in both Icelandic and Danish the finite verb moves to C in a main clause, in a subordinate clause the finite verb in Icelandic moves to T, but in Danish it remains within the VP.²

One of the features of Faroese that has attracted much interest particularly since the work of Jonas 1996 is that this language has been undergoing a change from a system like Icelandic to a system like Danish. Thus Jonas reported that for some—mainly older—speakers, both orders in a subordinate clause were possible, with a preference for the verb being in the high position to the left of the adverb:

- | | | |
|----|---|---------|
| 3. | Hetta er brævið, sum Elin (%hefur) ikki (hefur) lisið.
this is letter.DEF that Elin has NEG has read
This is the letter that Elin has not read. | Faroese |
|----|---|---------|

¹ The grammaticality judgments on the Icelandic example are an oversimplification; for at least some speakers placement of the finite verb after the adverb in a relative clause is possible, although it is infrequent (for discussion, see among others Angantýsson 2001, 2007, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, Thráinsson 2003, 2007, Wiklund et al. 2007). The crucial point here is that the placement of the verb before the adverb is grammatical for all speakers.

² There are many different possibilities for analyzing the various positions of the finite verb in Icelandic and in the Mainland Scandinavian languages including Danish; here we outline a relatively “conservative” analysis, without making a commitment to its adequacy.

There is however considerable disagreement as to the status of V-to-T in the current population. Here we report on findings concerning the grammaticality judgments and elicited production of subordinate clauses from 5–10 year-old Faroese children. We will show that contrary to what might be expected given the direction of change away from V-to-T in Faroese, pre-school children exhibit more of this “old” order than adults do. We compare this with findings from other Scandinavian languages where a similar pattern has been observed, and draw some tentative conclusions about the cause of this difference between adults and children, and the implications of this developmental pattern for the diachronic change that has been taking place.

2 Adults at the end of the loss of V-to-T

Since the seminal work of Jonas 1996 there has been considerable disagreement as to the availability of a grammar with V-to-T in modern Faroese, with Vikner 1995 and Petersen 2000, for example, claiming that V-to-T is no longer part of the grammar of the vernacular, at least for speakers born after 1960; but Thráinsson 2003 arguing that V-to-T remains a (less frequent) option even for this group. Our own data on adult grammaticality judgments show that there is a strong preference for Neg–V order in subordinate clauses in contexts where embedded V2 is known to be excluded (for some initial results, see Heycock et al 2010), but there is evidence for the marginal availability of a grammar with V-to-T (Heycock et al submitted).

As a background to the investigation of the children’s language, we would of course like to have good data on the nature of their input from the adults. Unfortunately, because of the low frequency of the relevant contexts, and the lack of any corpus of transcribed speech, we have only a limited amount of information about the incidence of V-to-T in informal speech (in particular, input to children). As part of our project, we made video recordings of four families interacting with their children, and have transcribed to date approximately 170 minutes of speech. Within this, in the adult speech we found 18 examples of subordinate clauses with negation. The results are summarized in Table 1. We have divided the clauses up into a number of subtypes because some types of subordinate clause are more likely than others to allow embedded V2 (for a brief discussion, see below; for more detailed discussion, see Heycock et al 2010).

Table 1: subordinate clauses with negation: adult speakers to children			
Type of clause	Verb–Neg	Neg–Verb	Total
complement declarative	4 67%	2 33%	6
adjunct introduced by <i>tí</i> (because)	2 100%	0 0%	2
other adjunct clause	1 50%	1 50%	2
indirect question	0 0%	2 100%	2
relative	0 0%	4 100%	4
conditional	0 0%	2 100%	2
Total	7 39%	11 61%	18

Because the data are so sparse, we supplemented this with data from the largest collection of contemporary tagged Faroese text currently available, the *corpuseye* corpus built by Bick et al (approximately 206,000 words from the *Sosialurin* newspaper and the Faroese edition of *wikipedia*), and we additionally searched in approximately 289,000 words of interviews conducted and transcribed by Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen.³ We searched for all instances of the negator *ikki*, and

³ These interviews were carried out as part of Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen’s doctoral research on attitudes to loan words in Faroese (Jacobsen 2008).

then from the results hand-selected the subordinate clauses. These data are discussed in more detail in Heycock et al (submitted); Table 2 summarises the results from the written texts in the *corpuseye* corpus, and Table 3 the results from the transcribed interviews.⁴

Table 2: subordinate clauses with negation: written texts			
Type of clause	Verb–Neg	Neg–Verb	Total
complement declarative	77 39%	120 61%	197
adjunct introduced by <i>tí</i> (because)	23 77%	7 23%	30
other adjunct clause	1 3%	36 97%	37
indirect question	0 0%	14 100%	14
consequence of degree (<i>so X that</i> –)	7 35%	13 65%	20
relative	1 1%	91 99%	92
conditional	1 4%	25 96%	26
Total	110 26%	306 74%	416

Table 3: subordinate clauses with negation: oral interviews			
Type of clause	Verb–Neg	Neg–Verb	Total
complement declarative	84 45%	104 55%	188
adjunct introduced by <i>tí</i> (because)	69 68%	33 32%	102
other adjunct	1 2%	55 98%	56
indirect question	0 0%	7 100%	7
consequence of degree (<i>so X that</i> –)	8 80%	2 20%	10
relative	3 2%	147 98%	150
conditional	3 2%	142 98%	145
Total	168 26%	490 74%	658

The results from the written texts and the interview transcriptions are very similar to each other, and are also in line with the (minimal) data from the child-directed speech. There is a significant proportion of V–Neg order in subordinate declarative clauses (e.g. the complements to propositional attitude verbs), in adjunct clauses introduced by *tí* ‘because,’ and in clauses that express “consequence of degree,” as in “He was so tall (*that*) *he could not fit through the door*” but these are all contexts in which V2 is known to be possible, so we cannot be sure that these are instances of V-to-T (Heycock et al 2010, Heycock 2011, Heycock et al, submitted). In indirect questions, there are no instances of V–Neg order in either the child-directed speech or in the texts, in relatives and conditionals there are no examples of this order in the child-directed speech; in the written data and the interview transcriptions, where we have more data, the V–Neg order occurs at a very low rate. Although we would clearly want to have more data from child-directed speech in particular, it seems reasonable to conclude that in the input from adults to children there is at best minimal evidence for V-to-T in these contexts.

One possible source of variation for children is the presence of ‘archaic’ V-to-T in books read to children, for example fairy tale stories. While there is no evidence that this type of input is actually used by children in building their mental grammars (see Fodor and Crowther 2002), it is

⁴ We have excluded “result clauses” introduced by *so* from these data because of the difficulty of distinguishing between “result” and “purpose” clauses; the former often behave like root clauses (*so* can exhibit V2) while the latter are more likely to behave like true subordinate clauses.

possible that in the context of ongoing variability and change children may be more sensitive to marked obsolete structures.

Inquiries to preschool teachers suggested that the book most widely read to small children is a classic collection of fairy stories, *Ævintýrbókin*, translated into Faroese by a collective of three different Faroese writers. One of these writer-translators was the author Heðin Brú; Since Sandqvist 1981 it has been much noted that Brú uses the older order (with V-to-T) at a much higher rate than his contemporaries, and this is in fact reflected in the collection. Table 4 gives the breakdown for all the stories together, but almost all of the cases of the V–Neg/Adv order are due to Brú.⁵

Table 4: subordinate clauses with negation/adverbs: <i>Ævintýrbókin</i>				
Type of clause	Verb– Neg/Adv		Neg/Adv– Verb	Total
complement declarative	8	80%	2 20%	10
adjunct introduced by <i>tí</i> (because)	7	78%	2 22%	9
other adjunct	5	50%	5 50%	10
indirect question	0		0	0
consequence of degree (<i>so X that</i> –)	7	100%	0 0%	7
relative	0	0%	4 100%	4
conditional	3	50%	3 50%	6
Total	30	65%	16 35%	46

As the table shows, instances of the V–Neg/Adv word order are much more frequent in these texts than in our other data, but of course the total number of cases is very small. Despite these small numbers, however, children who listen to these stories are exposed to these structures; whether this input is likely to affect their developing grammar has to be considered in the context of their residual presence in the adult grammar – a point to which we return in section 5.

3 Acquisition of subordinate clause word order: background

Petersen 2000, p. 83 states that the speakers he investigated, Faroese students with an average age of 20, “do not regard [V–Neg order in relative clauses and indirect questions] as ungrammatical, but rather as belonging to written Faroese.” Vikner 1995, p. 150 also suggests that V–Neg order may now be a relic associated with the written language. This leads to the expectation that preliterate children should produce less of this order and find it less acceptable than speakers with more exposure to writing.

On the other hand, there is evidence that young children learning Scandinavian languages where V-to-T has been lost nevertheless produce subordinate clauses with “high” verb placement even where this is ungrammatical for adults.

For Swedish the evidence so far is that this “overgeneralization” of V–Neg order is lost by the time children reach the age of 4. Håkansson & Dooley-Collberg 1994 report that a child who consistently produced V–Neg orders for auxiliaries in subordinate clauses at 2:11 in an imitation task, consistently produced Neg–V orders at age 3:6 (p. 102), and the highest age at which any of

⁵ In this table we give the figures for the order of the finite verb with respect to sentence medial adverbs such as *enn* (still) as well as to the negative marker *ikki*, although the latter is by far the most frequent. We only counted cases where it was clear that the adverb was not in a clause-final position. In the more extensive corpora we have only considered the negative marker due to the relative rarity of the other cases and the labour involved in searches in non-parsed corpora.

the four children in their study produced this order in spontaneous speech was 3:2.⁶ Waldmann 2008 is a study of four children acquiring Swedish. He concludes on the basis of his own data and those of Lundin 1987 that “even if the individual variation can be large, it seems at least that the Swedish children investigated use the correct verb placement in the majority of their subordinate clauses already when they are just over 3 years old. [At 3:3–4:0] they have the verb in the wrong position [i.e. before negation] only in exceptional cases” (Waldmann 2008, p. 236; our translation).

Westergaard & Bentzen 2007 report that sporadic recordings and diary notes from two children (2;4–8;0 and 1;8–5;9) acquiring Tromsø Norwegian show that V–Neg/Adv order in subordinate clauses is attested for these children around the age of 4–5 years; a guided elicitation experiment conducted with these two children, then aged of 5;9 and 8;0, found that the younger child used V–Neg/Adv order in 7 out of a total of 8 indirect questions produced with negation; the older child never produced this order in any of the 11 relevant environments. Thus they conclude that children exposed to Tromsø Norwegian optionally move the verb past negation and adverbs in non-V2 contexts up to the age of (at least) around 6.⁷

4 Our study of Faroese children

Against this background, we conducted both an elicitation and a judgment task with a total of 41 Faroese-speaking children divided into three age groups: 5–6 (two years before school entry); 6–7 (the year before school entry); 9–10 (two years after school entry).

5 Materials and methodology

In the grammaticality judgment task (see Appendix) each child saw a series of animations featuring familiar cartoon characters (adapted from Sorace et al. 2009). Children were told that the characters were learning Faroese, and sometimes made mistakes. After each mini-dialogue they were asked whether the last character to speak spoke right or wrong. There was an initial training session with two grammatical and two ungrammatical examples. There were six examples each of V–Neg and Neg–V order in embedded questions; as fillers there were 7 grammatical sentences with and without expletive subjects and 5 ungrammatical sentences that included other irrelevant gender and word order errors. The materials were embedded in a PowerPoint presentation delivered by a 15.4 screen laptop. The participants’ responses were digitally recorded. The instructions were recorded and given in Faroese. Care was taken to ensure that the intonation of sentences was the same for both word orders.

Our methodology for the production task (see Appendix) was an adaptation of that described in Westergaard & Bentzen 2007. Each child was read a story by the investigator, and told that an assistant had a very good memory of the story. The two pre-school groups were read the same story; a different one was used for the 9–10 year-olds. The child was then reminded of various events in the story, and told to ask the assistant if she remembered them, always beginning “Do

⁶ It should be noted though that they only had data for the children up to 3:6, and also, conversely, that some of the examples of V–Neg order occur in clauses that are potentially interpretable as result clauses, another context in which V2 may be possible.

⁷ The Tromsø dialect differs from standard varieties of Norwegian (and Swedish) in allowing the finite verb even in non-V2 contexts to precede certain adverbs such as *ofte* ‘often;’ it is like these other varieties though in not allowing the finite verb to precede negation in these contexts (Bentzen 2005). There is some evidence that Faroese shows a similar tendency (Bentzen et al 2009, Heycock et al 2010).

you remember...”, in order to elicit embedded questions. The question word was almost always *why*, because of the relatively unnaturalness of most other question words when combined with negation.

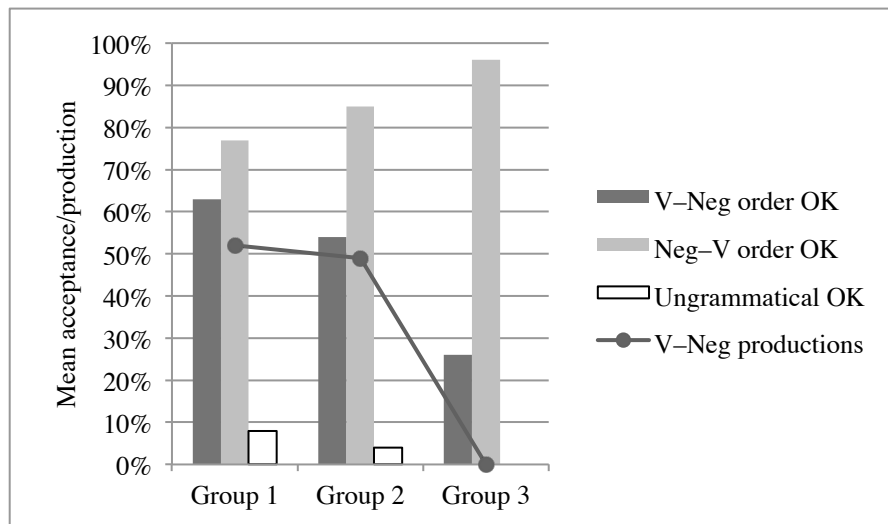
5.1 Results

Figure 1 shows the mean proportion of positive judgments of acceptability for indirect questions with V–Neg order, Neg–V order, and for the ungrammatical controls in the judgment task; and the proportion of V–Neg order produced in the production task. Visual inspection of the graph suggests that in the judgment task there is an overall preference for the Neg–V order, but that this increases with age; both because the Neg–V order becomes more acceptable (although it starts from a high point, accepted at a mean rate of 77% by the youngest group, rising to 96% in the oldest); and because the V–Neg order becomes less acceptable (falling from a mean rate of 63% in the youngest group to 26% in the oldest). These impressions are confirmed by correlation analyses. There is a significant negative correlation between age (in months) and proportion of V–Neg acceptance, $r = -.449(31)$, $p < 0.01$; and a significant positive correlation between age and proportion of Neg–V acceptance, $r = 0.352(31)$, $p < 0.05$. Further, there is a significant correlation between age and the difference in proportion of V–Neg to Neg–V acceptance, $r = -.506(31)$, $p < 0.01$, confirming that the strength of children’s preference increases with age.

In the production task, the two younger groups produced the V–Neg order at mean rates of 52% and 49%; the older group was virtually categorical in only producing Neg–V order (in a total of 99 productions of indirect questions with negation by this group, only one production from one child had V–Neg order). Since these data have a binomial response variable (accept or not), we used a logit mixed model to analyse the data from the two younger groups to avoid the problems associated with using ANOVA for data of this kind (see Jaeger 2008 for further discussion)⁸. We ran a logit mixed modeling analysis of these data from the younger two groups (the older group could not be included as they were essentially categorical in their responses) with the fixed factors of word order and age and random factor of subject; the younger two groups showed no preference for either order, nor was there a main effect of age, nor an interaction between age and word order

⁸ Mixed modelling is a more appropriate statistical technique than ANOVA, because ANOVA is used to analyse continuous data. Our data would therefore need to be converted to proportions to perform an ANOVA, which may lead to violations of the assumptions of ANOVA because confidence intervals may extend beyond the boundaries of proportion data of zero and one, leading to spurious results. Furthermore, mixed modelling has the advantage over traditional techniques of allowing a more sophisticated treatment of unwanted noise in the data.

Figure 1: Children's judgments and production



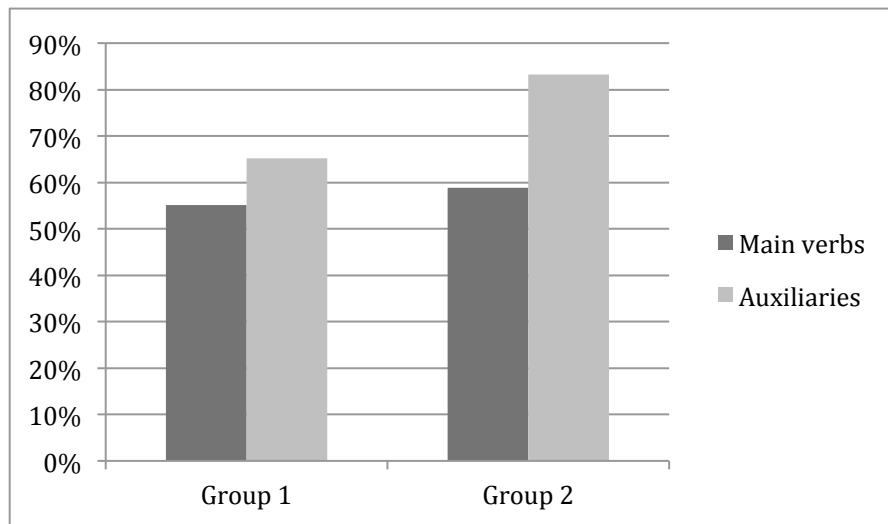
The fact that the two younger groups produced V–Neg order around or above 50% of the time suggests that their relatively high rates of acceptance of this order need not be taken simply as an effect of the judgment task being too hard for them. It is also important to notice that these children overwhelmingly rejected the ungrammatical control sentences, again suggesting that they were able to perform the judgment task.

In this task we used only “main” (non-auxiliary) verbs, in order to avoid any possible confound from a difference in verb type (Håkansson & Dooley-Collberg 1994, but see also Waldmann 2008). Our prompts in the production task also involved only main verbs, but frequently the children spontaneously produced examples with auxiliaries. We therefore checked to see whether there was any effect of verb type (main vs auxiliary) on the likelihood of the verb preceding or following negation in production. We give the total Ns in Table 5 (as the oldest group was categorical they are not included here or in the analysis).⁹ The proportions for the two youngest groups taken as wholes are graphed in Figure 2

Table 5: Productions of V–Neg and Neg–V order by verb type			
	Verb–Neg	Neg–Verb	Total
Auxiliary	40	13	53
Main	60	45	105
Total	100	58	158

⁹ Examples with the copula *vera* ‘be’ are excluded from these data and analysis as it was not clear how to categorize these cases.

Figure 2: Verb–Neg production in the two youngest groups by verb type



For these data we ran a logit mixed model including the fixed factors of age, gender, and verb type (main vs auxiliary) and the random factor of subject. There were no significant interactions, only a main effect of verb type: the likelihood of Verb–Neg order is higher with auxiliaries than with main verbs, as shown in Table 6.

Predictor	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	2.7883	0.9657	2.887	0.00388
Verb Type	-1.9239	0.6785	-2.836	0.00458

6 Discussion

Contrary to any expectation that pre-literate Faroese children might show the least amount of V-to-T, our results show that in fact pre-school children up to the age of 7 show higher rates of acceptance and production of this order than 9–10 year-olds. This suggests a developmental account, particularly in the light of the data from Swedish and Tromsø Norwegian. On the other hand, this pattern persists in Faroese children at least up to the age of 7, which is older than has been reported for either Swedish or Tromsø Norwegian (see above). As our data were gathered using different methodologies than those of either Waldmann 2008 or Håkansson & Dooley-Collberg 1994, however, a direct comparison between Swedish children (whose input is invariant) and Faroese children (whose input may still be variable) has yet to be made.

As reported also for the Tromsø Norwegian children in Westergaard & Bentzen 2007, we found no evidence that the children were giving these embedded questions the syntax of root questions, as even the youngest children never moved the verb to the left of the subject. Thus we have children who produced indirect questions like (4), but they did not produce (5b) by analogy to (5a):

4. Minnist tú, um hesturin tímdi **ikki** at vera inni?
remember you if horse.DEF wanted NEG to be inside
Do you remember if the horse didn't want to be inside?

5. a. Tímdi hesturin ikki at vera inni?
 wanted horse.DEF NEG to be inside
 Didn't the horse want to be inside?
- b. Minnist tú, um tímdi hesturin **ikki** at vera inni? *nonoccurring*
 remember you if wanted horse.DEF NEG to be inside
 Do you remember if the horse didn't want to be inside?

Like Westergaard & Bentzen, we conclude that our children were not generalizing the syntax of root questions to these indirect questions.

A second possible alternative analysis of the children's data is that the finite verb is in C, or some Topic projection, and the question word in some yet higher projection, along the lines of (6):

6. ... [_{CP} if [_{TopP} the horse_i [_{Top'} wanted_j [_{TP} t_i [_{T'} [_{VP} NEG [_{VP} t_j

There are two reasons to reject this analysis. First, it would attribute to the children a grammar unlike that of any that we are familiar with. Even in Icelandic, which has been argued to allow V2 very freely in embedded contexts, it is never possible to embed V2 within an indirect question in this way (see e.g. Vikner 1995). Second, it would not explain the different behaviour of main verbs and auxiliaries. We know from modern English that these verb types may have different privileges of access to T, but any difference in their ability to move higher is strictly parasitic on that. It would therefore be surprising if in these children's grammars the main verb/auxiliary verb distinction was affecting direct movement into the C domain.

Having set aside these two alternatives, we conclude that the younger Faroese children do not have more generalized V2 than the adults, rather they have variable V-to-T at a rate that as far as we can tell greatly exceeds that in the input. A possible explanation for this is offered in Westergaard & Bentzen 2007 for their Tromsø Norwegian children: in brief, in the course of acquisition children seek to adopt a grammar that minimizes the amount of movement that has to be postulated; they therefore initially analyze subject-initial root V2 structures as TPs, and hence interpret the V–Neg orders that are found in root clauses as evidence for V-to-T.

This analysis predicts this developmental path in any V2 VSO language; thus we would expect children learning standard Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian also to initially overgeneralize V-to-T. As we have seen, there is some evidence that indeed this does happen in Swedish, although the children seem to abandon this analysis earlier than in Tromsø Norwegian or Faroese.

A remaining possibility is that variable V-to-T in Faroese children could be attributed to residual variability in the adult language. We have shown above that production of V–Neg word order is very limited in Faroese, both in corpus data and in naturalistic interactions with children and adults. However, evidence from experimental work with adults (Heycock 2011, Heycock et al, submitted) demonstrates that this order is not completely rejected by Faroese speakers in grammaticality judgment tasks. First, intra-language comparison shows that sentences with V–Neg orders in contexts where V2 is excluded, although dispreferred to those with the alternative Neg–V order, are much more acceptable than those exhibiting a number of other syntactic violations. Second, inter-language comparison with Danish, a related language but one in which V-to-T was lost three centuries ago, shows that Danish speakers judge V–Neg orders exactly like other cases of V2, while Faroese speakers do not. Instead, the judgments of Faroese speakers suggest that they still have limited access to a grammar with V-to-T. Hence we have argued that the evidence from grammaticality judgments suggests that the V–Neg option is still marginally part of the mental grammar of adult Faroese speakers; they are still at the 'tail end' of the process of losing V-to-T movement. The V–Neg order may be so dispreferred with respect to the alternative that it is

produced by adults only rarely, but its marginal presence in the grammar be manifested in other more subtle ways. For example, it is conceivable that young children's occasional production of V-Neg may go unnoticed by parents and therefore uncorrected, either explicitly or implicitly (Saxton 2000). Alternatively, it is possible that parents spontaneously align with their children's occasional production of this structure (Pickering & Garrod 2004; Costa et al. 2008; Kunert et al 2011), thus providing them with indirect positive evidence. Neither of these possibilities could be directly tested by the methods employed in our study, but future research could establish whether parent-child priming and alignment is more likely to occur for this structure than for other ungrammatical structures, due to its marginal acceptability.

7 Conclusion

The data reported in this paper show that Faroese pre-school age children produce and accept a word order that is now extremely rare—at best—in adult speakers' production and strongly disfavoured in their grammaticality judgments. The discrepancy between the child and the adult behaviour points to subtle residual effects of the change from V-to-T that has been taking place in Faroese and that we know took place in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. We plan to explore these effects further in future research. Furthermore, there are wider implications of these findings for models of diachronic change. Given the very scant data available in an SVO language to determine whether V-to-T is possible in the absence of V2, it might have been surmised that the diachronic change could have been triggered by children failing to get enough evidence for V-to-T, or underestimating its frequency in the target grammar. These findings suggest that this is an unlikely scenario, since the acquisition bias appears to be in the other direction (the children initially hypothesise more V-to-T than is warranted by the input). Indirectly, this may lend support to the hypothesis that the change must have been at least initiated by some external factor—the most likely, but by no means the only possible culprit in this case being contact with Danish.

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Appendix: Examples of Task Materials

A. Materials for the judgment task

Donald sings and Mickey makes a comment, Minnie and Daisy talk afterwards



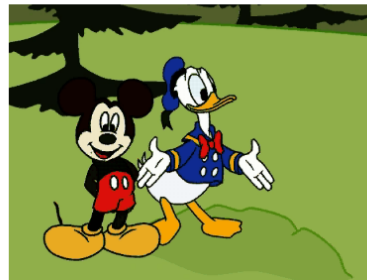
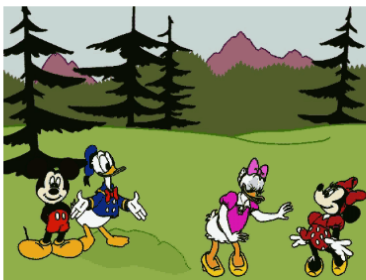
Indirect questions, Neg-V

Mickey: Kenna tit ekki henda sangin?
 know you [2p pl] not this song

Daisy: Hvat segði Mickey?
 what said Mickey?

Minnie: Hann spurdi, um vit ekki kenna handa sangin.
 he asked if we not know that song

Minnie sneezes and makes a comment, Mickey and Donald talk afterwards



Indirect questions, V-Neg

Minnie: Eg eri köld! Hví tók eg ekki eina troyggju við mær?
 I am cold! Why brought I not a sweater with me

Mickey: Hvat segði Minnie?
 what said Mickey?

Donald: Hon spurdi, hví hon tók ekki
 she asked why she brought not
 eina troyggju við sær.
 a sweater with her

B. Materials for the production task

Examples of story prompts used with younger children

(1) Á hesari myndinni síggja vit, at Pippi ber ein hest uppi yvir hövðinum á sær. Annika og Tummas trúðu ekki, at Pippi var so sterk. Hví trúðu tey tí ekki? Vit vita hví: ein lítil genta kann ekki bera ein hest. Men heldur tú, at X minnst hví? Spyr X um tað og byrja við: "Minnst tú..."

In this picture we see that Pippi is carrying a horse over her head. Annika and Thomas did not believe that Pippi was so strong. Why didn't they believe it? We know why! A small girl cannot carry a horse. But do you think that X remembers why? Ask X about it and start with: "Do you remember..."

Expected response: Minnst tú, hví Annika og Tummas (ikki) trúðu (ikki), at Pippi remember you why Annika and Thomas (not) believed (not) that Pippi kundi bera ein hest? could carry a horse?

(2) Pippi noyðist ikki at fara tíðliga í song. Vit vita hví: Tað er, tí at hon býr einsamøll og eigur eingi foreldur. Tí noyðist hon ikki at fara tíðliga í song. Heldur tú, at X minnst hví? Spyr hana: Minnst tú, hví...

Pippi doesn't have to go to bed early. We know why: It is because she lives alone and has no parents. Therefore she doesn't have to go early to bed. Do you think that X remembers why? Ask her: Do you remember why...

Expected response: Minnst tú, hví Pippi (ikki) noyðist (ikki) at fara tíðliga í song. remember you why Pippi (not) had (not) to go early to bed?

Examples of story prompts used with older children

(1) Henry skundar sær ikki yvir til mammu sína. Heldur tú, at X minnst hví... Spyr hana: Minnst tú, hví...

Harry doesn't hurry to his mother. Do you think that X remembers why... Ask her: Do you remember why...

Expected response: Minnst tú, hví Henry (ikki) skundar sær (ikki) yvir til mammu sína? remember you why Harry (not) hurries self (not) over to mother his?

(2) Mamman fann ikki lýt í hárinum á Fríðriki. Heldur tú, at X minnst hví? Spyr hana: Minnst tú, hví... The mother didn't find any lice in Fredrik's hair. Do you think that X remembers why? Ask her: Do you remember why...

Expected response: Minnst tú, hví mamman (ikki) fann (ikki) lýt í hárinum á Fríðriki? remember you why mother.def (not) found (not) lice in hair.def of Fredrik